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standing of what transpired in the first days of the Harding Administration in its relation to foreign affairs.

Of more concrete value than these revelations as to past events is Mr. Hughes' discussion of the attitude of this government toward the Permanent Court of International Justice. Unquestionably there is a profound sentiment among thoughtful men in this country, whether or not they favor entrance into the League of Nations, that the United States should avail itself of the court and should lend its strength toward the firm establishment of the institution as a bulwark of peace and order.

Very likely it is true that among the ablest minds opposed to entrance into the League itself are as many favorable to participation by this country in the work of the court as there are among the advocates of the League. The opinion in this country favorable to such a court has been strong and widespread for many years. Secretary Hughes, in many respects typical of American thought, says of himself that he has "too long advocated judicial settlement of justiciable controversies" to feel that he needs to make any personal defense against charges of unfriendliness to the court.

It is, therefore, gratifying to read between the lines of Mr. Hughes' letters to Mr. Holt what amounts to a certain open-mindedness on the part of this government toward participation in the work of the court. It seems to us that Mr. Hughes virtually says, "Find a way to get us into it." The court is an institution of the League. We are not a member of the League, there is no present sign that we will be a member, and in consequence we have no voice in the choice of the judges. Mr. Hughes says there is no chance of our participating in the court until provision is made by which we could have a voice in the election of judges of the court without joining the League. The problem consequently seems to be to effect some change that will enable the United States to participate in the work of the court on an equality with all the other nations participating, which certainly seems to be the way in which the power and prestige of the United States could be of most service to the court, irrespective of what service the court might be to the United States in a given contingency.

It may fairly be asked whether, with the one fact that the United States is not in the League and not likely to be in the League, and the other fact that it is very desirable to have the United States in the court, this problem of effecting some adequate change is not one deserving the attention of the leaders of thought and action both in this country and in Europe.

During the campaign of 1920 some publicists thought that following the election of Mr. Harding there would be a gradual movement in international affairs toward such a reconstruction of the League as would leave the

Permanent Court of International Justice the outstanding and dominant feature. Those who held this view expected a progressive accretion of strength for the court and a progressive deterioration of the other agencies of the League. Possibly over a span of years this expectation may be realized.

If it should be, the difficulties in the way of American entrance into the work of the court would be very greatly minimized, if not removed. But at present there appears to be unwillingness on the part of some of the European nations to accede to any movement looking to diminution of the agencies of the League other than the court. It would be unfortunate if in these circumstances it should be thought impossible so to order affairs that the United States could find its way into the court. There ought to be a method of achieving co-operation between the United States and the other nations in this institution for the service of the world through the instrumentality of international law.

## THE ITALIAN UPHEAVAL

THE RECENT troubles in Italy illustrate anew the dangers to which the nations have been brought in consequence of the enormous destruction of life and property in the war. They give a hint, a very broad hint, of how lasting are the war's evils.

We do not think of Italy as we think of France, devastated and now confronted by a Germany of tremendous latent resources; nor do we think of her as of Great Britain, to a large extent the heart of the commerce and trade of Europe, and therefore affected by all of the poison that has been injected into the various members of the industrial body. Italy we commonly think of as a second-rate nation living somehow, in a second-rate way, on the edge of things. However, Italy suffers terribly in the paralysis of Europe due to the war. She suffers in herself and in her neighbors' suffering.

In that fact, we think, is to be found the explanation of the recent outbreaks between the Communists and the Fascisti. Italy's manpower was badly weakened in the war. Under the best of economic conditions, a nation which must work as hard as she for its living would be handicapped, but in addition to that she has a public debt of incredible proportions. We have seen it stated that her debt is as large as her wealth—an unthinkable condition to the American people. Now, with that handicap due to loss of manpower and with that crushing public debt, Italy must find a way to make her living in industry and trade; and in making her living in that way, be it remembered, she is also under the enormous handicap of having to import a very great proportion of her raw material, for her natural resources are not sufficient to supply food and commodities to her workmen.

But a moment's thought is necessary to show her plight when a glance is given at the condition outlined and then another glance is given at the economic conditions of the countries to which she must sell her products. It will be seen that, in a nutshell, she can only produce under the greatest difficulties, and when she produces she can only sell in stagnant markets, taking them as a whole.

Her statesmen are alive to all of this. None surpassed them in the Washington Conference in seeking peace and the assurances of order and stability throughout the world. They begged for it and prayed for it. They frankly said that, disregarding idealism and thought of humanity, they must have peace and an ordered world if they were to live. It was not enough that they themselves should have peace, or that their immediate neighbors should have peace. So dependent is Italy upon a healthful trade with the world that her spokesmen feared the effects of war, even in the most far-off corners of the earth. And since the Washington Conference it has been noted that the attitude of her official representatives has been virtually the same in other conferences. Signor Schanzer became the well-nigh constant harmony emissary in the ill-fated Genoa Conference. The dispatches from London a few days ago have him in the same rôle in the negotiations between Mr. Lloyd-George and M. Poincaré.

No wonder, then, that we read in dispatches from Rome, following the collapse of the *de Facta* government, that King Victor Emmanuel received in grave audience a group of former premiers, that Signor Orlando, Italy's great man at Paris, and other Italian leaders were unable to form cabinets, and that finally *de Facta* again was summoned to make an effort to establish a government.

THE CLOSE of the British Parliamentary session early in August directed attention to some of the changes in ministerial attitude during the preceding few months. The exigencies of British politics were compelling. Mr. Lloyd-George, pressed hard by die-hard opponents among the Unionists and by aggressive liberals like Lord Robert Cecil, at one time threatened to resign as Prime Minister. He did not do so. Instead he returned to his old walk as a fighting, resourceful politician and made comparatively frequent speeches from the Treasury bench. His enemy, the London *Times*, observes that a year ago he was an Olympian, descending to the House of Commons only on great and rare occasions. The same exigencies of politics led Mr. Austen Chamberlain to assert himself more vigorously as the leader in the House of the Coalition government, and brought increased influence in the government from the Unionist wing, for which Mr. Chamberlain is the principal spokesman.

## THE STUDENT AND THE CITIZEN

By JAMES T. SHOTWELL

(In a notable Phi Beta Kappa address at Columbia University several months ago, Mr. Shotwell revealed sources of strength in the movement for law and order and progress throughout the world that should be encouraging to the thoughtful readers of the *ADVOCATE*. The prepared address is given below.—THE EDITOR.)

SINCE COLLEGES and universities were begun, I suppose that no year has passed without some such function as this—a sort of farewell appraisal of the student's world and an initial glance at the great adventure just beyond—and I doubt, as well, if those who mysteriously direct that student's world have ever let the occasion slip by without some drowsy address upon the value of the disciplines which have been inflicted and endured and the great theme of education as a whole. Although your organization has been in existence only for a little over a century, the ceremony which has brought us here has, therefore, its antecedents in some seven centuries of European history. Now, there is one advantage which a historic occasion offers us; if the event itself be too much—or too long—with us, as we drowse, our minds can find release and sometimes inspiration in the long perspectives of the past which this suggestion opens up, no matter what the present offers it.

One can imagine an event like this in the days when the students of Abelard gathered with him by the walls of medieval Paris and looked down from Mont Sainte Geneviève at the rising towers of the cathedral of Notre Dame, dreaming of the world of affairs, whose noise they could faintly hear, whose growing power they could see symbolized in the new pomp and splendor of the kings of France. Year after year, as journeymen of the guild of learning, out they passed into the great world. And year by year the grave doctors—masters in the guild—assembled to see them go. Or in old Bologna, turbulent Bologna, where the students were supposed to rule—it must have been an awful place—one can imagine those earliest students of the law turning their faces to the Alps, eager to carry to the Germanic north the principles and precepts of the ancient Roman jurists and so win their way in the councils of princes or the Empire, yet pausing for a last academic function on some afternoon like this, when March brings the fruit-tree blossoms to Romagna. It has been the same in the gay cloisters of old Oxford, ever since those cloisters were begun. So, if the subject which I have chosen as befitting the occasion is old and threadbare, you can at least take comfort in the fact that the affliction is and always has been a last discipline of the spirit for those who are soon to escape this kind of discipline—or rather to exchange it for other ills they know not of.

This is not meant as an apology, for there is no apology due the inevitable.

Our subject is "The Student and the Citizen." Let me begin with the student. There is a medieval student song, written by some vagabond student, some unknown goliard of the thirteenth century:

"Gaudeamus igitur

Juvenes dum sumus" . . .

"Let us rejoice, while we are still young."